SOME NEW BOOKS.

America's Problem in the Twentieth Century

The distinguished author of Civilization and Progress, Mr. JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER, has now published the third volume of his History of Intellectual Development on the Lines of Modern Evolution. (Longmans.) The first volume of this work dealt, it will be remembered, with the unfolding of Greek and Hindu thought, and with the history of Græco-Roman paganism, of Judaism and of Christianity, down to the closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian, 529 A. D. The second voiume was to give a detailed account of the evolution of European civilization from the fall of the Roman Empire in the west to the present time. In a preface to the book before us, the author explains why he has put forth the third volume of his History of Intellectual Development before the second. The change of plan is due partly to the increasing diffeulty experienced by Mr. Crozier, owing to his weakened eyesight, in pursuing the minute research needed for the projected second volume; and partly because he was anxious forthwith to put before the reader such practical conclusions bearing on present-day affairs-politics, education, government, society and so on-as follow the particular standpoint which he has adopted, namely, that furnished by the history of the evolution of civilization as a whole. He admits that the presme would have had a more systic basis for its conclusions had the econd volume been already published, but he is not sure that the particular arguments used in this would have been materially strengthened, or that readers whom he has failed to convince by the amount of historical detail here adduced would have been any the more likely to be convinced by a minute exposition of the evo-lution of European civilization from the collapse of the Roman Empire west of the Adriatio to the present time.

The aim of this volume is to ascertain to what extent, if any, a knowledge of the evolution of civilization in general, and especially of its main trend and tendency, can be of service to the practical states man of to-day. The author does not share the distrust generally entertained for specuative thought when it seeks to enter the domain of practice; on the contrary, this work has been written with the object of indicating somewhat in detail the way in which he thinks a knowledge of the development of civilized communities in the past may be made serviceable to those who now have to deal with political and social problems. To this end Mr. Crozier essays n the first half of this volume to exhibit some of the now generally admitted errors in the practical statesmanship of the nineteenth century, from which the nations might have been saved had their statesmen possessed a knowledge of the evolution of civilization to guide them. This task accomplished, he undertakes to exhibit the practical value of the principles which have been disengaged in the course of the discussion by applying them in the outlining of a reconstructive policy that may be carried out in the twentieth century for England, France and the United States. For the purpose of this notice we shall first indicate the rules of practical statesmanship which the author's researches and reflections have led him to formulate, and then note his application of those rules to the actual and proximate condition of our own country. In other words, we invite the reader to hear Mr. Crozier explain what he believes to be the problem or problems confronting the United States in the twentieth century, together with the principles and methods by which he holds that they should be solved.

In summing up the contents of his first eight chapters, Mr. Crozier emphasizes the admission that there are certain regions of statesmanship in which no help can some to us from a knowledge of the past There will always be questions which depend upon the presence of unknown factors that, like the particular cards in the hands of an opponent, make the results impossible to foresee; as, for example, intricate questions of foreign policy, in which several States are interested, and where the upshot for any distance ahead is as impossible to calculate as the problem of three gravitating bodies in mathematics, or questions whether free trade or protection were the best policy for particular States when regard is paid to the influence of occupation or mode of life on people of a peculiar race or genius, or questions imperialism or militarism, where the results of single important battles may alter the entire destiny of nations, and even of continents; or, again, questions of encouraging or discouraging population in any given country when regard is paid to the far-reaching effects of scientific discoveries that at any moment may be forthcoming on the food supply of the these questions and many others, for the present at least, belong to the domain of Providence or faith, and in many cases are almost as likely to turn out in accordance with the forecast of the man in the street" as with that of the most experienced statesman or the most dili-

While this class of political problems, however, is insoluble beforehand by the teachings of history or civilization, or of speculative thought, or of individual experience, yet, if we ask wherein a knowledge of the evolution of civilization in general is likely to be of service to us in framing the actual policy of easting States. Mr Crozier holds that we may may with a considerable dogree of confidence that such knowledge ought to free as from illusions in all that domain of domestic policy where statesmanship execute in met mistaking political menne for political ends, political abstractions for political restition. The perlitical methods adapted to one generation for the methods adapted to the changes conditions of another, and so on of the evolution of civilization in general much to save us from an fruitiens an expossibilities of laker as the sinking of shafts a mandle special to the large of since large region attand the passing up of a colors in the dark in minimake for a coper time of the before he was to show that to postulary page start contact statements by managements of the structurals response the service modely expected from front to see and the first importance of the special from the service and the

which when neglected become on the second of an excitation of the statement of the statemen

made in the discussion of the theme; the distinction, namely, between Democracy as an instrument of government, and Democracy as an instrument, like religion, of social regeneration and the furtherance of morality in the broadest sense of that term. For it is evident that, if the progress of morality and of social justice be the of all political and social institutions; if it be in this progress of social morality that all progress in civilization consists, all else being but means and temporary scaffolding to that end-if this be true, it is evident that, however unsatisfactory Democracy may be in many ways as an instrument of government, it will still have to be upheld if it be absolutely essential to the furtherance of that social morality by which, in the last resort, all forms of government must submit to be judged. The question, then, to be first determined is whether Democracy is absolutely essential to the progress of morality among the great masses of men. Will no other form of government answer as well for this purpose, and if not, why not?

Mr. Crozier concedes that this inquiry equires some pondering, for, inasmuch as Democracy is of recent growth in the great States of the world, and these States had previously made great strides in social morality, it may be asked not unreasonably why they absolutely need a Democracy for the further evolution of their social morality in the future. No form of government, it will be said, is an end in itself. All forms of government are but means; some are better adapted to one people and one stage of society, others to another; here despotism, there limited monarchy, and there, again, military rule. Neither is the same form of government equally adapted to the same society at different stages and periods of its development; a Democracy, for example, which would be best in peaceful times being out of place in a purely warlike age-and so on. Mr. Crozier acknowledges that all this is true, and that without doubt social morality will advance in the future, as it has done in the past, whatever the form of government that this or that State may adopt The admission is qualified, however, by the assertion that only of the world in general can this be said; it cannot be said of any particular State. The world, we may be sure, will get its own somewhere and somehow, but, if a particular nation is to attain to its highest plane of social progress, our author is convinced that, in the twentieth century at least, the plane must be attained through Democratic forms. The reason he gives for this assertion is that, as he endeavored to show in his earlier work on "Civilization and Progress," there can be no advance in social morality-that is to say, in justice between class and class, in equal opportunities for persons of all classes, and in the elevation of the ideals of the nation as a whole-until the effective powers of the different classes in the State are nearly equalized; this can only be done in peaceful times by the franchise, that is to say, by a government democratic in form. The reason given by our author in his earlier work for morality, thus defined, not being able to advance until material and social conditions were more or less equalized. was this-that, when the powers of different classes are unequal, the relations of these classes to each other are regulated by the law of might, but, when they become more nearly equal, they are regulated by the law of reason and of right. In a country like Russia, indeed, where

the Emperor is so strongly intrenched in law and public opinion that he can do what he chooses, he can hold the balance even, as it were, between the people and the nobility; and so, by artificially equalizing the powers, can partially secure an equality of rights to the great mass of the people relatively to the nobles, their natural oppressors, even although all alike are subject to the Czar's will. In no other Europeror so firmly seated that he can dare to intervene to alter and unsettle the relations existing between the different classes of his people; and so, if the people anywhere are to achieve an equality of rights for themselves, they must get the necessary equality of power by their own efforts Now, without a civil war, this can be done only through the suffrage, that is to say through the form of a democracy, or, as in England, through a government which is monarchical only in name, but is, politically speaking, democratic in essence and spirit. Mr. Crozier maintained that we may go further, and say that, now that skilled wage-earners are everywhere ceasing to be the mere tools of the industrial world, working for wages which can be put up or down at the caprice of the employer; now that they are gradually coming to be recognized, though slowly, as co-partners in the world of industry-not to be bought or sold at a market rate, like goods and chattels, but with a first lien on the product of all industrial enterprise whatsoever-now that the process of emancipation of the workingman has begun, Democracy must be the form of government in all modern States until his emancipation is consummated, whatever difficulties or dangers may attend it. Our author even concedes that over and above all this there is something in the inarticulate voice of vast multitudes which is calculated, like voice of the many-sounding sea, to awe the minds of the better class of states men and to steady them for great designs. despening their sense of responsibility, and fixing their minds on great moral issues; an impetue not to be accured by any Government resting on a restricted range of class ptorests, fancy franchises, or the like the much for Mr. Croster's concessions

as to the temporary utility of Democracy, considered as a form of government. Not ions firmly done he insist that, however anticomble Latinocracy may be in the present stage of society for its influence in advancing morality, notice and ment. It is understably a plant that require stamily long took to anothings railungs for its success. While, as an instrument of government, it is ensulation and unwanter, and is accompanied by great draw tacks not notting the storing maters of position like the single sharp-proved and of disspectic annuarchy test, the a raft made up of a read multiplicate of expensate ingo milling and tuestding along at the less to generativ anknowindend, had what cour decises to emphasize exectedly of the nightmenth mentury, having an along propagated communical in the audienty to make empletion of accisety relaptoreer or at any about the gradually broken shows, so that the relative respectance and entorships agic to any notion or excitety which had the whole access from front to seen in the national instance ("Your will) The complication of this entires bends executed the interior to bends into the policy of the complete the substitute of the entire the substitute of the control of the entire the substitute of distinction which is no important, and have unbounded freedom, and can show although in our author's opinion, the unimportant is their effect on American

out of the way before any advance can be In a word, this abstract, ideal Democracy. with its Liberty and Equality, Laisses faire and Universal Suffrage, is, as an instrument of government, unsuited to any condition of civilized society existing at the present time, or likely to exist on this side of the millennium. One of the purposes of the first eight

chapters of this book is to demonstrate that Democracy has, by its abstract ideal principles, shot like a comet quite beyond the proper orbit of existing civilizations. and from this demonstration the deduction is that the main problem for the twentieth century will be, how, while preserving the democratic form of government, so to rein it in and coerce its eccentricities of orbit to the proper curve again, that it shall be not only a means of promoting morality but an efficient instrument of government as well-in all those countries at least that by their history, tradition and situation are otherwise suited for it. Accordingly Mr. Crozier expects that the watchword of the twentieth century in politics will be Evolution, not Revolution, while all its war-cries will be regarded as means, not as ends; as they have been in the nineteenth. For the nineteenth century conception of government as a matter of abstrac rights, metaphysical rights of man as man and the like, the twentieth century will abstitute the conception of expediency of prudence, of getting the best results for all out of existing conditions, of pushing the ideal only so far as it will go and no further, all this with an eye to further progress, to the elevation, comfort and appiness of the great masses of men. Instead of regarding society as a vast aggregate of separate individuals, left to shift for themselves or to be moved about here and there mechanically, like pieces on a chessboard, the twentieth century will regard it as a family, rather, with a natural growth, its members having natural relaions to each other; and the attemp to impose anything foreign on a given society, however right that thing may be from a legal and metaphysical point of view, will, like the introduction of a stepmother into a family in private life, not always be deemed politically expedient or desirable. Progress and reform in consequence will not proceed in the twenieth century by pulling down the old structure like the bricks of a child's toy house and building it up again on a new and different plan from the foundation; but will imitate, rather, the process of treegrafting, where the sap of the old still lows through the new; or of breeding, where the kind of offspring one wishes to produce can only be got by slight variations in the proposed direction through a number of removes, and not by a single enforced union of principles so opposite that nothing but an abortion or a monstrosity can result.

From these general postulates are evolved four rules of practical statesmanship which are ultimately applied to the practica politics of England, France and the United States. What are these four rules? To begin with, Mr. Crozier would say that, just as the civilization of the world as a whole is made up of the contributions to the common stock made by its different peoples and nations, in the same way as the trade of the world is made up of their respective industries; and as this common civilization gets what it has of completeness and harmony, not from the fulness or completeness of any one nation, but from the mentary contributions of them all, o nothing should be introduced into the politics of any one country which would end to blur or destroy the type of character which has been impressed on it by ages of tradition, customs and the material and social conditions of its people; but on the contrary, its deficiencies ought to be made good by engrafting as much of its neighbors' or rivals' excellencies on its own as it can vitally assimilate without destroying its individual type and character -in the same way as the best qualities of are to be got, not by turning the one into the other, but by the process of engrafting on the one as much of the excellence of the other as his character will take up without detriment to his own mental and moral individuality. Preservation of Type, accordingly, is the first rule which Mr. rozier would have observed in working ut a constructive policy for any given civilized nation in the twentieth century Such is our author's first rule of practical

"If," he says, "civilization consisted merely in maintaining the status quo from age to age in a kind of Chinese stagnation, without retrograssion or advance, nothing more would be needed to preserve a given type than remarselessly to cut off all new offshoots or variations tending to cause a divergence, as they arose. But as, on the contrary, Civilization, while starting from the low plane of Brute Force, moves gradually upward and across to the side of the ideal, always approximating, but never reaching it; embodying as it goes along only as much of this Ideal as at the given time and place it can take up; each nation or society, it is evident, although its imme diate aim must be the preservation of its own type in its integrity, as it has come down, must also aim at gradually refining and softening or withdrawing from view its lower and purely brutal elements, and replacing them with higher ones; getting rid, as far as possible, of the ape and tigor if its composition, and strengthening the human, the social and the ideal." How are these two aims to be reconciled? Mr Crozier answers 'As these two ciernents Physical Force, on the one hand, and the Ideal of the Right, the Good and the True. on the other, have givers been present at every point in the actual history of nations the ideal elements being slowly and gradu ally, but surely taken up and embodied as we get further away from Prantice Man), it is evident that, if the first rule of practical statesmanning is the preservation of the Type of a nation, our account tile must be to exputue from practical bone which provided over the birth of the French Revolution, and to construct our enforms, and the same, but not of the existing type, the motion of life traditions and is stitutions in which the people in question here and under which they have been as mantained to think and to act instituting to this the method of Nature becard. when she wishes to secure a new and higher

sometic to progress all of a picosi. Shall their abouild be no gape or earlymone anywhere. tor that all castre printinger and barriers

are liberty and equality of opportunity for all, the existence of exclusive castes, or of monopolies so gigantic that they are as inaccessible from the plane of common life as were the feudal castles of the Middle Ages, is pronounced as fatal to the moveent and progress of a society as is a series of trenches stretching across a field to an

army on the march. We come now to our author's fourth and ast rule for the practical statesmanship of the present, founded on the evolution of civilization in the past; the rule, namely, that the practical aims of all progressive reform movements in modern States are to be directed toward the material and social conditions of these States, rather than toward the character of the people who inhabit them. What is the reason of this rule? It is this: That, if unfavorable material conditions are allowed to prevail for a sufficient length of time in any community, they will insensibly corrupt opinion degrade sentiment and lower the level of the high ideals of the community; in the same way as, if highways are unguarded long enough, they will breed robbery; houses unprotected, housebreaking; streets unpatrolled, ruffianism; appointments or contracts unexamined, corruption and dishonesty; and so on. So, in the same way, if swift and radical industrial changes have taken place in the bosom of a society or State, this alteration in the :naterial and social landscape of that State must be the chief concern of the statesman, and not the character of the individuals of classes that have got hold of its vantage ground. For, just as every situation in life has its favored places and positions and its less advantageous ones-with no personal blame attaching to those who in the scramble have happened to secure the best places-so the statesman of the twentieth century must keep his eyes primarily on those points of vantage which have arisen in his society, those commercial peaks on which sit the castes of millionaires, those broad acres which maintain the landlord castes, those hollows and plains where lie the disinherited, and so on; in a word, on the characteristics of the material and social landscape, and not on the people themselves. For this reason, mainly, that the existing character of a people living on a given area of the earth's surface is for moment practically fixed and cannot be immediately altered except in a very inappreciable degree; while the peaks and rock fortresses, the caves and underground dwellings which harbor the beings that prey or are preyed on (which, if allowed to continue to exist, will, by the sentiments and morality they tend to engender, alter in time the entire character of a nation of civilization) can be quickly so raised or evelled or graded by human art and statesmanship as to be made the nursing places of heroes instead of brigands, the homes of virtue and honesty instead of misery

IV. Such are the general rules of practical statesmanship which Mr. Crozier would draw from the evolution of civilization; to wit, the preservation of the organic type of any given society or people; the reforming of that society and the securing of its progress, not by abstract ideals imposed on it all at once from without, as in the French Revolution, but by modification of its existing institutions in the direction of ideals by gradual increments and stages; the keeping society all of a piece, as it were, and without the deep gaps and trenches made in its ranks by caste, monopoly and other causes, a free passage to and fro and up or down being secured everywhere and for all; and, lastly, the concentration of attention primarily on those material, social and industrial conditions which keep open rents and divisions, rather than on the people who profit or suffer by With these rules of practical statesmanship to guide him, our author deems himself in a position to consider what are the changes which the history of the Evolution of Civilization demands to-day in the statesmanship of England, France and with the application of these rules to our own republic that we are here immediately

concerned. In the seventh chapter of the second part of the volume before us, the chapter which formulates the problem that will confront the United States in the twentieth century, Mr. Crozier essays to show how not long after the War of Independence, and the framing of the new Federal Constitution, a number of movements set in from dif ferent quarters of American life, which movements have ultimately succeeded by an unhappy conjunction of their forces in so operating on the political machinery of Equality as to convert it into a machinery of depotism. This they did, not by altering the machinery in itself, but by simply shut ting the light out from it-or at least from that most important part of it which has to do with nominating candidates while at the same time getting the citizens to continue to vote, just as they had done from the first, namely, for the ostensible candidates

f this or that political party. A short account of each of these movenente is given for the purpose of furnishng the principles which, in our author's opinion, should guide us in the reconstrucion of the politics of our country in the wentieth century. Of those movements r streams of tendency, the first three are escribed as normal, natural and, being nesential to progress, the vitable; the fourth, though harmions in itself, is believed by Mr. Proxier to have had the effect, when united with the rest, of converting them, as in certain hemical combinations, into political poison These etreams of tendency are tabulated order as follows: First, industrial development and concentration; second, the constitution and the party system, fourth, he entwittation for the natural equality proper to the country and its traditions of the stopian equality of Bousseau. The first structure of terrology; to wit the audustrial development, supplies the inblyist with his tage of gold for purposes of britisity and corruption, the second, namely, the go swith of great cuties, arms the Bose and the Sing with their regiments of bired accomplises, the third, the party system drives the succes, by the pressure of diecipline and inputy, in the pale, and the fourth and last the stopiat Equality of Bouseaux. turns the lights out at the places where aconsinations are made while the conspicutors plunder the public by filling up peritions Micros and appointments with their com-

of the second part the changes brought Lon of the atmospher of descriptory good stocky tioned. Mr. Executor in the signists and concluding theater steps hatte from the risk was gird sudmerrors to take a termi survey ;

not to the solid vital substance on which the lione-the People-feed, but to the scraps and leavings which have fallen to

the vultures and the jackals. "For, if we consider it, there is no one of the great objects for which government exists which has not for the hundred years been abundantly provided for and safeguarded by the Federal Constitution-life, liberty, the pursuit of hapfreedom of religious opinion and worship, and, above all, an open arena, with equal rights, equal opportunities and equal access to positions of honor or trust for all-and that, too, in a degree unknown elsewhere in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of some of the colonies still attached to the British Crown." Very little real organic change is needed in order to fit the United States for taking their place in the advanced civilization of the twentieth century. No reconstructions are here required such as are imperatively called for in the case of England or in that of France. In our republic "the broad equality necessary to progress reposed securely on its millions of hundred-and-sixty-acre holdings, on its universal education, on its freedom of religious worship and opinion, and on the equal opportunity given to all to rise in every department of life; and so, in place of the handicapping of Intelligence as an ideal by a system of modified caste (as Intelligence is handicapped in England), as much room is provided for natural and proper inequality as either progress would demand or political philosophy prescribe. With these standing desiderate of human life attained, the multiplied scandals and corruptions of its [our country's] political life, to which the prevailing publicity of the age has given a world-wide advertisement, are but as dust in the sunbeam; or like those superficial skin eruptions which starve in the anæmic, but riot and luxuriate in those of the richest blood." Yet these candals and corruptions indicate maladjustment or excess somewhere, and, although they distinctly belong to what Mr. Crozier calls the scraps and leavings of politics, he holds that the task of American statesmanship in the twentieth century is, as far as possible, to remove them.

The author believes that in his seventh chapter, to which we have cursorily referred, he has succeeded in proving that the true causes of the corruption of American polities may all, for purposes of reconstruction, be summed up in two-the one mental, the other material; the one a faisity in sentiment, the other a defect in machinery. The first is the substitution of the abstract and utopian Equality of Rousseau for the natural Equality proper to men born and bred under a practical equality of material and social conditions. The second-a double defect-is, on the one hand, the unsuitability of the original political machinery of Equality for the new age of Industrial Development and Centralization; and, on the other, the forcing of the pace of that machinery to keep up with the demands of the Utopian Equality just mentioned. All the other indirect contributory causes, such as the new industrial development, the rise of great cities and the necessity for party vigilance and discipline in a government conducted by the People themselves-all these are pronounced either natural and inevitable or are recognized as part of the organic structure of American political life itself, and as, consequently, to be handled with the utmost care and caution by practical statesmen. These indirect contributory causes are touched on but lightly in the volume before us; in his proposed reconstruction Mr. Crozier confines himself to the two direct and immediate causes of corruption, namely, the Utopian Equality and the defective or unsuitable machinery

As for the first cause the sentiment o topian Equality, considered as a basis for the political machinery of the State -Mr. Crozier holds that this can be only altered in the United States, as in France, y the substitution of the history of Evolution of Civilization in general as the political Bible of the nation, for the Bible of Jefferson and Rousseau; and this substitution, again, can be gradually effected only by making the historical and philosophical study of this Evolution the keystone of secular education in America, as in all other advanced countries. The main results which our author would expeet to flow from this substitution in the United States would be the convincing of the people "that no political abstraction of any kind, much less the abstraction of of any kind, much less the abstraction of ideal or utopian Equality, has ever been able to maintain itself, except for moments and during periods of transition, in any civilization the world has yet seen; that these abstract ideals have always been temporary means, never realized ends; and that, all life being a composite and interconnected complex of many parts, they, although good as ideals to lead men on, are, like Platonic love, peace-at-any-price, and the rest, unsound materials with which to build a solid and enduring structure, political or other."

are, political or other."

We come to the second cause of the corruption of American politics, namely, the defects in political machinery. defects are owing partly, as we have said to the unsuitability of the original ma-chinery of Equality, which was devised for the independent and homogeneous free-holders of the Thirteen Colonies, to the complexity and beterogeneity of an age of industrial concentration and development, and partly to the impossibility of any machinery that can be devised really meeting the demands of Utopian Equality Whatever the origin or nature of the defects. however, they will always be found operate it the same way namely by shut-ting out the light of Public Opinion from the parts where the corruption is engendered. There is then produced in the body politic result analogous to the physical conse-uence of shutting out air and light from outers and other receptacies of dangerous quence of chafting out air and light f
monors and other recopiacies of danger
and disease bearing germs. The rema-thin, were it practically attainable detail that every . More position or funcpolition from the kep to the location of the stage. The market continue to facility that, they a line shower some bloom their start to present the market begins the facility the market begins the show the facility that the same part them the facility the market begins and passes and companies to the facility the companies to the facility the companies to the facility the facility of the facility facility the companies for the facility the facility that the facility the facility the facility the facility that the facility that the facility the facilities of the facilities and the facilities

subject is that, so long as the people of a country take into their own hands the initiative in all matters of legislation, and, as in the case of the United States, even dictate its main provisions in more or less detail, no official, however highly placed, not the President himself, can find room for the exercise of original or construc tive statesmanship. "Hence it is that qualities required of the President piness, security of person and property, are those of the judicious, careful, cirnspect administrator, who proceeds with caution and tact, with his ear ever on the ground-swell of public opinion, but who, by the prudent and conscientious exercise of his veto, takes care that the policy of the party platform which carried him to power shall suffer no detriment from legislation antagonistic to its spirit. As regards foreign policy, there has been little hitherto which has necessitated any departure from the traditional programme, that, namely, of non-interference and isolation; but, should the people seriously insist that the nation shall adopt a policy of imperialism, thus bringing it, sooner or latter into closer relations with other States, more specialized forms of ability than are needed at present would be de manded of aspirants to the Presidential chair. As it is, so fiercely does the light of public opinion beat upon the person the President, upon his qualities, his abilities, his antecedents, that little or no change in the political machinery, either of his nomination or of his election, is required. All that is wanted in connection with his office, perhaps, is to take away from it entirely the eternal rotation of the 'spoils'-that curse of the mania for Utopian Equality which helps to aggravate all the other disorders and to emphasize all the defects in the machinery of the State.

> bers of his Cabinet-who, it is here distinctly recognized, are, unlike the Cabinet Ministers of other countries, merely clerks and advisers of the President-Mr. Crozier glances next at the Supreme Court of the United States, which also lies above the snow line, serene and dignified and in the full light of publicity. "Sitting there, high over all the other elements of the Constitution, with its members holding office for life or good behavior, it represents the people as a whole on the judicial side, as the President (although nominally an executive officer) does [by virtue of his veto power] represent the whole people on the legislative side. Its ability, purity and inviolability are assured, as one would know beforehand by its composition, its tenure of office, its publicity and the appointment of its members by the President. The tribunal is a unique success, and it is the standing glory of the American Commonwealth. The same qualities, although in a less degree, mark the offshoots of this Supreme Court scattered among the several States of the Union' -to wit: the United States Circuit and District courts. "All these courts," continues Mr. Crozier, "which often have to restrain public opinion and to check the

State Legislatures, are fully under the eye

of public opinion, of the bar and of the press

As for the United States Senate, our

author would place it on the border of the

snow line, so to speak; the executive func-

and are held in high and general esteem.

Leaving, then, the President and the mem-

tions which it shares with the President in regard to treaties and foreign relations, and which are exercised for the most part with disinterestedness, purity and a full recognition of responsibility, lying above the line; while the legislative functions which together with their temptations and dangers of corruption, the Senate shares with the lower house of Congress, would be put by Mr. Crozier below the line. "Although the legislative committees of the Senate are chosen with more impartiality than those of the lower house (being chosen by ballot and by seniority, and not directly appointed by the presiding officer, as in the ower house,) and, although they bring to the consideration of the political problems before them more abilty and experience, still the Senate as a body is never wholly without members who are known taking them for all and all, the members of the Senate are a superior body of men and still worthily sustain, as they have always done, the dignity and honor of the Republic." How does our author account for the superiority of the Senate? He points out that "this Senate, although nominated by the 'caucus' and the wire pullers in the several States, and, although appointed by the Legislatures of these States, which are themselves largely under the dominion of the convent the wirecoulers and the dates the boss as the head of the Fe of the 'caucus,' the wirepullers and the of the 'caucus,' the wirepullers and the party organization in the city choose bosses of the great cities within their limits nominate. Holding fast to these bosses of the great cities within their limits
this Senate, owing to the high esteem in
which it is held, its long term of office, and
to there being only two members to represent each State, is so much in the public eye that caucuses, wirepullers and bosses alike at the doors of which the bosses and at the doors of which the bosses and at the doors of which the bosses are obliged in their sections.

To sum up, then, our author would describe these three institutions, namely, the Presidency, the Supreme Court and the Senate, as the real organs of the national will, and he emphasizes his belief that they carry out the duties entrusted to them, and expected of them, conscientiously and well. With the exception mentioned, to wit, the legislative functions of the Senate. "they all lie above the snowline of our analogy, and are fully illuminated by public opinion, and therefore need no new nachinery for their amendment It is only when we get below the line, and come to the lesser administrative and judicial machinery with which the people as a whole has no concern to the political leavings.

Municipal needs, to have a confount gories, and is as flogical and is as if men were seriously to choose their lawyers or their has no concern to the political leavings. in short that we come on the underground order of politics, the ter-periors and nicipal from Federal party author would have the ward committee rooms, to which the light of public opinion landed penetrate, where year; the lobbyist, the legeolier and the boss hold court and session and where they continue to live and fourish. How can the losser administrative and judicial ma- Alove all, and issue estine to the Federal Constitution like for saling execution or to the instorion continuity and tra-ditions of the hispation? What its the first place can be done to prevent the corrup-tion of temperature and the material displantator? It is a manufacture that the principle is and to other the impolitionry he to sel in incess light marywhere but he perceives it to be parabathic that may plan if alteration sizegrated by fain has remarked ower and man person by the term of the ry piece around commission of the control of the contro fitting the extracountly or and, so the same or of many other entercore for a subject or exemption of the parameter application affording to the limit by a large general communities, so in France before telling sent to a special case. Its profess to have an eastern and time when the half should be afterward reported to the House there would be a softenest mapper of distance suited mencions with some general knowl. Of the inclusions that he alone the solge of its character and mortis to criticise "This." Mr. Crosser thinks, Gunt as having any degreater or not

would be to get rid of the illusion, to begin with, that the members of Congress, when sitting on committees, are engaged in national legislation in the common sense of the term. They are no more engaged in national legislation than a County Court Judge is; they are really engaged in the judicial or semi-judicial sifting of evidence, and in administrative recommendations or suggestions.

"In order, therefore, to let the light fully in upon the committee rooms, they should be turned into judicial chambers; and, instead of a dozen or more members sitting around a table, admitting or rejecting evidence as they choose, and giving to just what weight they choose, let them sit as a jury to hear the evidence on both sides. presented and argued by opposing counsel, as in any other court of law; with the doors open, the Press 'ooking on and reporting the proceedings or not as the case may be This alone would go a long way in keeping the report on the bill in a line with the real weight of the evidence, and for very decency would make members pause. The consequence would be that the bills now brought in-three out of every four of which are strangled without being reported upon, for fear of the veto of the President -would be still further reduced in number; and so the extra time required by the new arrangement would be more than compensated by the lessened amount of work to be done."

As for the State Legislatures, our author would have the people of a given State continue to pack such legislative measures as they are fully agreed upon into their State Constitution, where they will remain beyond the reach of the Legislature until such time as the light has been fully let is upon the latter by means similar to those which have been suggested in the case of

Congress. Leaving Congress and the State Legislatures, Mr. Crozier comes to the consider. ation of the State Judges and the Judges of the cities. Here again he finds that the old and rotten plank in American political platforms-the mania for Utopian Equality-has worked much mischief. *Between 1812 and the outbreak of the Civi War, when this passion for equality burned most fiercely, the appointment of these Judges, which, until then, with a single exception, had been in the hands of the Governors of the States or of the State Legislatures, or of the Governors with the consent of their councils, was transferred to the hands of the People themselves in nearly all the States; and, instead of the old tenure for life or during good behavior, the office, except in three or four States, was granted only for an average of from eight to ten years." The author goes on to note that "these Judges are in most cases miserably and inadequately paid they are not drawn from the highest ranks of the bar; are often nominated by bosses and rings, on whose good graces they have then to depend for their reelection; and, although kept wonderfully straight by the influence of the Federal Courts which exist beside them, by the Bar and by public opinion, they are, nevertheless, an addiopinion, they are, never instability, cor-tional element favoring instability, corruption or vulgarity in the State." again, however, Mr. Crozier thinks that the remedy is obvious, and scarcely needs pointing out, namely, to make the office more dignified and respectable by selecting the best men and paying them better salaries; to let them be again appointed by the Governor of the State, with or with out the concurrence of the Legislature or Council; and, above all, to do what nothing out the mania for equality or a preter natural fear of tyranny could have undone, namely, to let the tenure of their office be for life or during good behavior, as it used Thus is Mr. Crozier brought at last to

nent and to the more notorious despotism of the Boss and the Ring, upon which ou author has enlarged in the seventh chapter of the second part of this volume. Here gain, he contends that only a minin necessary, all that is wanted being, first let in the light of public opinion on a chinery which, although which has the same blinding effe electors as darkness; and, thirdly lease the individual in all municipa from those Federal party ties which that caucuses, wirepullers and bosses alike are obliged in their nominations to it to reflect the general sentiment of the community.

To sum up, then, our author would the conjugate of puller and bosses alike at the doors of which the boss, by static assmall contingent of his ragged regist of his own nominees) is enabled like other Napoleon, to conquer the city. general by conquering it let the walls of these elections thrown down so that the inopinion may fall full and flue voting area. To this end 'the of the City Council, instead of I nated separately by the little wa should be nominated in two opposity the whole city, after having their respective programmes Municipal and not, as at prefederal party basis. We are that "the differences between the parties, having no begins." Municipal needs, to make ther

he marsh at the foot of the mountain,

namely, to the corruptions of city govern

separately and at a different year while, to app out all sions, the Legislature of the life, an armiditing of efficient isologists. Attentions is nice that fact that there are inter-offices with which owned to te interest of the electrical wine framedians ar standards one transfer about it means to the same of the standard transfer and the transfer to the same of the s or eturing, intelliged to bring